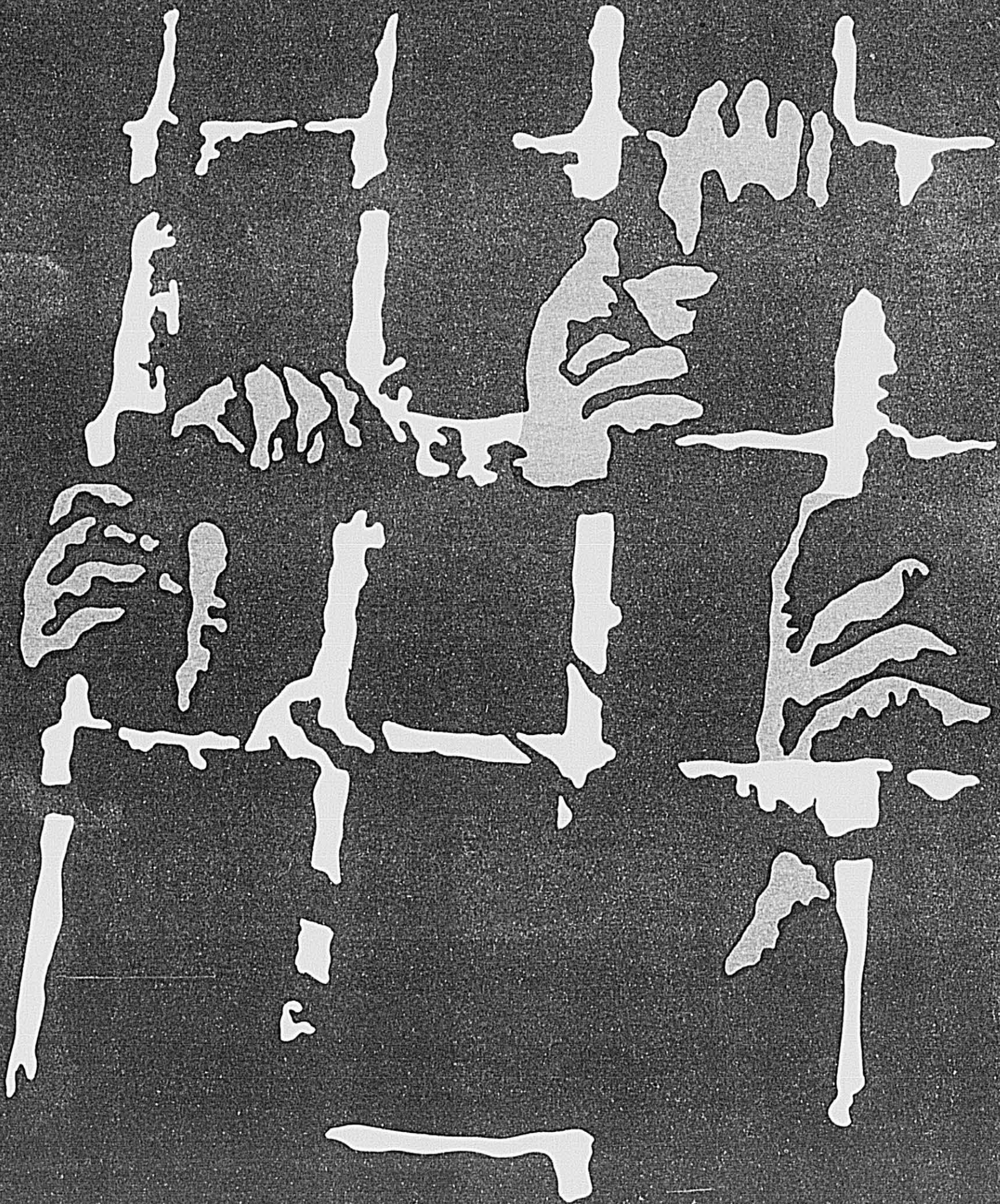


Special Refugee Issue



arauco chile

Vol. 76, No. 14
Monday, October 20, 1986
Montréal, Québec

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Co-ordinators of this extra-special issue were:
Vipul Desai, Phinjo Gombu-Sherpa, Mike Gordon,
and Ines Tewfik. May they rest in peace.

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Divestment figures don't match up

By Joe Heath

Last November, when McGill decided to divest, it had slightly under \$45 million invested in companies with South African interests. According to the South Africa Committee (SAC), the value of these investments now totals over \$53.5 million

SAC's calculations show that despite some divestment, McGill has acquired investments worth almost \$10 million in corporations from which it should have divested. Also, the market value of the stocks which McGill has

not yet sold have increased dramatically.

The Committee to Advise on Matters of Social Responsibility (CAMSR), which oversees divestment, has released a report which states that "since divestment had commenced the book value (value when purchased) of shares held in corporations affected by the November 18 resolution had decreased by 33 per cent."

However, if the value of the new stocks acquired are subtracted from the amount divested, divestiture is only 19.95 per cent.

Steve Miller, SAC co-coordinator, said, "It's ironic that in spite of divesting nearly 20 per cent of the market value of their stock, McGill has still drawn a profit from institutionalized racism."

"Frankly, I'm disappointed that McGill's involvement in South Africa is worth even more to them than it was last year," he said.

Stuart Budden, McGill Treasurer, explained the \$10 million increase, saying, "We're the benefactors of estates and trusts... if someone leaves us a portfolio, that is where the addition comes in. There were three

large portfolios that came in."

Budden also pointed out that CAMSR had 33 companies on its divestment list, while SAC had over 50.

According to Miller, SAC draws up a blacklist based on information provided by the Investors Responsibility Research Center, and the African Fund.

"McGill's system is different," he explained, "Three investment managers purchase stock for McGill. Once they have bought a stock, it is referred to CAMSR, who contact the company in question and ask about their South African contacts. If these turn up,

then CAMSR adds the company to a 'sell' list, and instructs the managers to sell the stock."

Abbot Conway, of CAMSR, saw this as a loop-hole that would allow some stock to appear in the McGill portfolio which was on the SAC blacklist. "There is a possibility that your managers are moving into an area that may be South Africa related. You might see this as deliberate, but it's actually an application of the board motion that divestment be orderly and responsible."

"We decided that we didn't have the resources to go through the stock exchange and investigate every company," said Conway.

According to Miller, "Something as reprehensible as Apartheid demands the utmost attention of all who profit from it."

"I think the results we've been seeing warrant some sort of better system, a blacklist, not a 'sell' list," he said.

"McGill has acquired new investments in DOW Chemical, for instance, which they didn't have before. The investment managers bought the stock, CAMSR writes off to the company to see if they're in South Africa — six months later you find out. In the meantime, McGill's made a big profit."

"For McGill's integrity to be maintained, this bureaucracy must be eliminated," said Miller.

Conway, however, sees merit in the current system. "You're in due course trying to get out of South Africa, you're also trying to educate people. By contacting the companies, you hope you can have some effect on management policies."

Miller does not see a blacklist as an impediment to contact with the corporations. "Every time you decide to boycott these companies, you could advise them that you are not buying because of our disgust for profiting from racism."

Said Conway, "We didn't want to put too many hooks on the investment managers, so that they will be afraid to buy a stock as it may be South African."

"Over the years, we will have built up a book which the investment managers will consult," he said.

Miller however, favours a complete blacklist, listing all companies involved in South Africa, saying, "there are corporations which invest in South Africa, but just because McGill hasn't invested in them before, they're not on a blacklist, so they're being purchased."

Conway also criticized the SAC's use of current market values instead of the value at the time of purchase (the book value), to draw the figure of \$53.3 million. "One of the reasons we chose the book value over the market value is you can get caught in fluctuations and wind up with an inaccurate figure... If you introduce too many wild factors, you end up not knowing anything."

Budden seconded this, saying,

continued on page 13

ANC activist rallies students at Concordia

by Chris Lawson

"The way we whites think now is still racist... When you read about the deaths of blacks in South Africa, you get numbers. When whites are killed, you hear how they died, who killed them and its called a bloodbath."

Denis Goldberg, African National Congress activist, spoke to an audience of about 400 people, mostly students, at Concordia University's downtown campus last Thursday.

A white South African, Goldberg spent more than 20 years in prison for his part in the leadership of the ANC. He was tried along with Nelson Mandela and given four life sentences. He was released in 1985.

Goldberg is travelling across Canada, speaking to audiences to inform people about what he called, "the day-to-day reality of Apartheid."

"The media," he said, "doesn't do enough to overcome the blackout of news." He described the Western commercial media as "sensationalist" which as a consequence, distracted Westerners from the true nature

of Apartheid.

"For African people," he said, "South Africa is a prison, in their daily lives."

"Even big business is beginning to see the end of Apartheid." Goldberg quipped, "The Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation are holding workshops to tell us what post-Apartheid South Africa should be like." He added, "Damn nice of them when they've been keeping us from doing it ourselves for years."

Goldberg emphasized the importance of international sanctions in the struggle to overthrow the South African government. "The sanctions that are being imposed now, inadequate as they are, are now beginning to bite. They are helping to deny whites the economic privilege the regime has been set up to grant them."

The government, he said will inevitably be unable to finance its military police. The South African government currently spends 50 per cent of its budget on arms and armed forces. "It's a high price to pay for Apartheid."

Goldberg said of the Canadian government sanctions, "I believe that the Mulroney government

wants to impose much tougher sanctions on racist South Africa."

"Your sanctions will help us. You will not set our people free." This part of the struggle, he said, belonged to the African people.

One questioner asked about 'tribal warfare' and whether it would be a problem in a post-Apartheid South Africa. Goldberg responded, "This is view coined by the South African government and it reflects a racism of the worst kind. The whole point of Apartheid is to set people against each other."

Goldberg told the story of Norwegians who collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War. "After the war, they

were tried and shot. No one said, 'funny, these white people, they kill each other.'

"I'm often asked if there's going to be a bloodbath in South Africa. My answer is: there already is one. The struggle is going to go on and the regime is going to be destroyed and it is in the best interests of all the people in the world that it be destroyed."

In conclusion, Goldberg reiterated the platform of the ANC, "What we say is this: release all the political prisoners, victory to SWAPO, victory to the ANC, forward to a united, democratic non-racial South Africa; we say, power to the people."



comment

WE WANT TOTAL DIVESTMENT

Divestment is a slow process. When McGill committed itself to divestment last November, it began the gradual process of disposing of its South Africa-related portfolios. Now it is time to evaluate whether McGill is moving fast enough.

Different people will give different answers. According to the administration, our involvement in apartheid has been reduced by 32.9 per cent. This figure is based on the 'book value' of the holdings — the price McGill paid for the securities.

Based on results in U.S. universities, it has normally taken two to five years for most of the U.S. universities to divest. A decrease of one third in one year sounds relatively good.

McGill's total investment in South Africa may be declining, but apartheid still plays a significant financial role at the university. Their investments in companies with South African interests are currently worth \$53,644,100. This is about 16 per cent higher than last year at this time (before divestment), when McGill's holdings in apartheid were worth roughly \$44.5 million.

The increase in the 'market value' of McGill's portfolio can be explained in several ways: factors such as the rise of the U.S. dollar, the phenomenal surge in value of certain undivested stocks, and finally, the business acumen of McGill's managers, who would logically retain the most profitable stocks as long as possible.

Furthermore, McGill has acquired new stocks in several companies which profit from apartheid, such as Proctor and Gamble,

DOW Chemical, and Owens-Illinois. Some of these can be explained as endowments or gifts to the university, others cannot.

Today, Monday, October 20, the McGill Board of Governors will hold its first annual review of divestment at which time it will have the opportunity to overturn the divestment decision.

Student support is necessary in order to assure the Board that the McGill community is still of one mind. To overturn divestment would be a major setback, not only for McGill's international reputation, but for the entire movement to economically isolate the racist Republic of South Africa.

Since McGill became the first Canadian university to adopt a policy of total divestment, York and Dalhousie universities have also opted for divestment. The United States, Canada, Japan, Commonwealth and Scandinavian countries have imposed stronger economic sanctions, and the black people of South Africa have reaffirmed their call for sanctions.

The push for sanctions has also been echoed by leaders of "frontline" states such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. Clearly, the tide is with those who use economic pressure as a weapon against apartheid.

As students, we must add our voices to those of the people working to end racism and create a just and peaceful South Africa. McGill will only continue to purge itself of holdings in corporations which traffic in apartheid if we maintain the pressure, and insist that our university express its "abhorrence" of apartheid in concrete terms.

Amy Kaler
Joe Heath

Steve Miller

Canada's debt: No rest for the weary

More than 10,000 people are without homes in Montréal. More than 10 million are without *homelands* around the world. What is the difference?

Every day, thousands of people are forced to flee their countries because of racial, cultural, and economic persecution.

The refugee is by far the most misunderstood and victimized of the world's homeless.

The increasing number of refugees seeking asylum in Canada brings home the need for a sensitive, critical and realistic understanding of their struggles.

The commercial media presents the case of the refugee in as disconnected and convoluted a context as refugees themselves are forced to endure in their everyday lives.

Refugees often come across on television, or newspapers with as much connection to world events as a UFO sighting or any other unexplained phenomenon.

We see or hear of how refugees are branching into our world. But how often are we allowed to trace the issue to its roots?

Refugees are seen as numbers; an anonymous shifting mass in a world already filled with faceless statistics. It is difficult to see the faces of human suffering when thinking in terms of 10,000, or 10 million.

Every refugee's problem is a personal one. Although refugees are all victims of injustice, the type of oppression they encounter differs according to their race, class and gender. Combined with political, cultural or military persecution, a refugee is forced to flee her / his country.

'Visible' minorities are confronted with more vulgar and immediate racial prejudice. Women of color suffer the double-indemnity of racism and sexism.

And when one considers the overwhelming economic exploitation of poor refugees as 'cheap labour', the

problem becomes even further compounded.

Without putting the issue in its proper global context, attention given to refugees is at best cursory. The media and the government exacerbate the problem by failing to make Canadians appreciate the complexity of the issue.

Refugees face an immediate danger of torture, imprisonment or abject poverty which is white-washed by the Canadian government's hazy distinction between refugees and immigrants.

With popular acceptance of this misconception, over 20,000 refugees are back-logged, while the majority of 'refugees' are admitted into Canada through 'immigration' channels.

A tortured and hounded political prisoner must take a number, while a well placed immigrant seeking permanent employment and citizenship in Canada is welcomed into the Multi-culturalism that Canada advertises in its glossy tourism brochures.

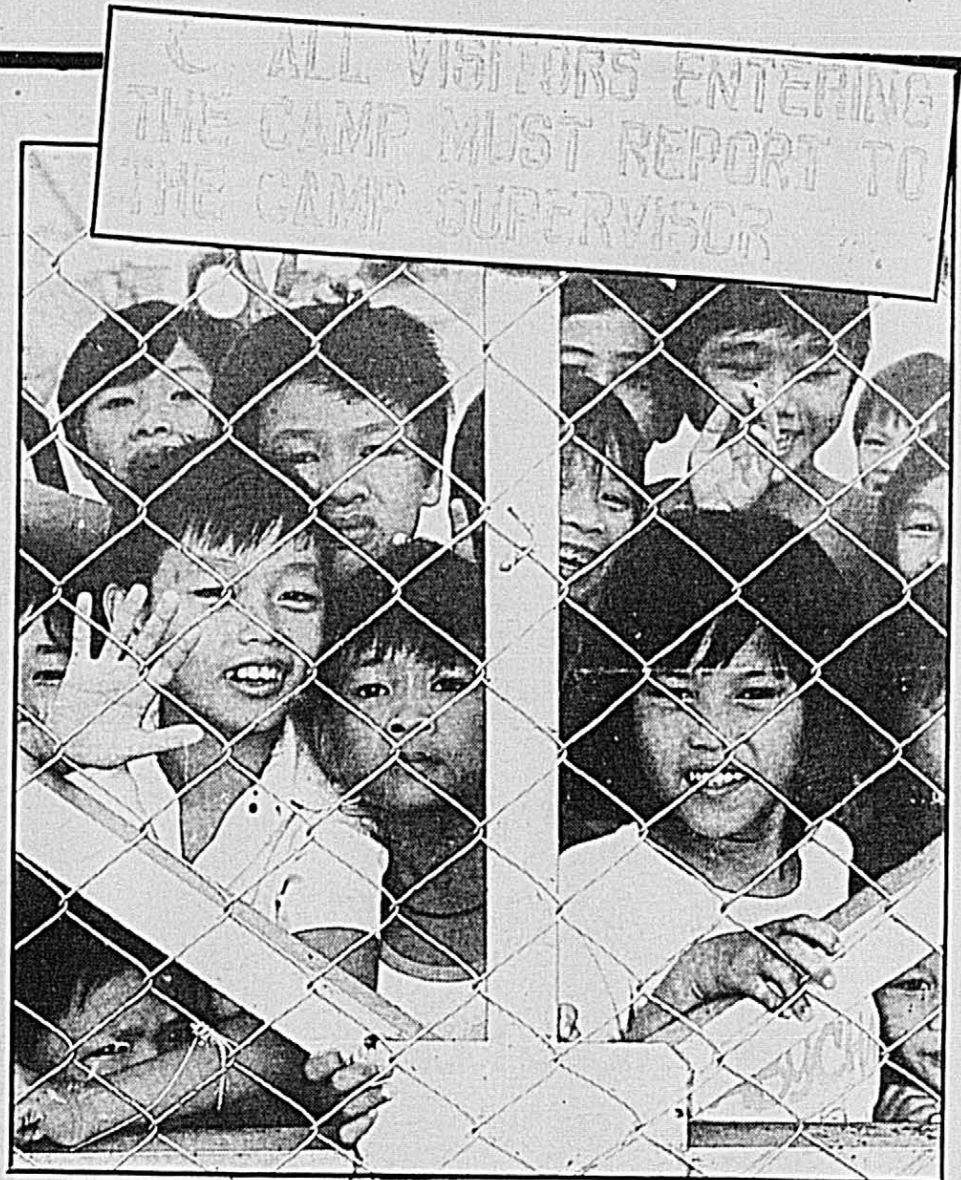
Whereas immigrants come to re-settle on their own free will, refugees are forced by default to seek asylum away from their homelands.

If we look further into the origins of the refugee crisis, we find Canada's laws regarding refugees a dubious complement to its foreign policy.

Canada plays a supportive role to many countries listed by Amnesty International to have blatant human rights violations — the cause of many refugees.

This role manifests itself through aid that is channeled through organizations such as Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and bank-financed multinational investments.

The sale of arms and aid to unstable regions is an industry that is an integral part of the Canadian and U.S. economies. Canada has, with other western countries, invested over a half billion dollars in the Sri Lankan economy. Many of the so-called 'development' projects in fact contribute



to the displacement of thousands of Tamils.

Aid to repressive régimes guarantees a steady flow of arms and aid that purports to bring about stability. Last year, the American Congress voted \$500 million to the Duarte régime in El Salvador. Over 75 per cent of that money went to the Salvadoran military, which uses the funds to murder its population.

Because of this, Canada, the U.S. and other Western countries, are involved and subsequently responsible for the collaborative role they play in the displacement and destruction of people's lives.

Is it not ironic then, that refugees must seek shelter in the countries that

contribute to their misery?

Canada's responsibility is more a matter of recompensation than charity. Only recently did Canada give compensation to surviving Japanese families interned as a 'security threat' during the Second World War. A fitting solution to an embarrassing problem.

Saving the lives of refugees, and actively seeking a solution to the global problem is not just a philanthropic and humanitarian gesture — it is an overdue international obligation.

Patrice Brodeur
Yvonne Bayer
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Hanka Hulsbosch
Chris Lawson

Mike Gordon
Kristina Stockwood
Vipul Desai
Joe Heath

Canada's third party refugees

by Chris Lawson

When a government is at war with its people, no one is safe from the bullets. Many people die and more must flee or meet the same fate.

There are currently many Third World nations embroiled in conflict of one form or another, where thousands, even millions of people have become refugees. Those that can actually leave their homeland are considered lucky.

While the circumstances vary from country to country, there are some things these countries have in common — Canadian complicity and support for the governments that banish their own citizens.

El Salvador, Sri Lanka, and Guatemala are four such nations. All (with the exception of Guatemala) currently receive

government to government aid from the Canadian government.

In El Salvador, 1.25 million people, mostly peasants, have been bombed, strafed and forced from their homes by Salvadoran planes and troops since 1979. The routs occur in areas occupied by the Farabundo Marti Liberation Army. The peasants flee either to Honduras or towards the capitol, San Salvador.

By 1988, the Canadian government will have given almost \$20 million to the Salvadoran government in the form of sophisticated agricultural technology to be sold in El Salvador at market prices.

Amnesty International's 1985 report cites "massive human rights violations, including arbitrary arrests and prolonged detention without trial, torture, disappearances, and individual and mass extra-judicial executions

(read: murder)," in El Salvador and condemns the government for its total disregard for its people.

To the north, in Guatemala, there are an estimated 1.2 million displaced persons, mostly Maya and Miskito Indians, living in the interior (approximately 1 million) and in Mexico (about 200,000).

According to the Canadian Federal Joint Committee on International Relations, Guatemala has, "the worst human rights history in Central America. Government troops, since 1978, have destroyed 440 Mayan villages. The villagers are then forced to relocate to labour camps called "Model Villages." Residents are forbidden to wear traditional clothes and must learn to speak Spanish.

Canada does almost \$47 million in trade with Guatemala every

continued on page 6

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Comment

Vote 'Yes' to a fee inflation/deflation mechanism, October 21,22

This year, the McGill Daily planned to publish four issues a week. At the last minute, we were informed that the cost of printing had risen seven per cent. Having no means to increase our revenue, we were forced to examine our publication schedule, and cancel seven per cent of the issues.

In the end, we had to drop every second Friday paper.

A fee inflation/deflation mechanism is essentially a common-sense measure. It would allow the Daily Publications Society Board of Directors the option of raising or lowering the fees paid by students to the Daily by a maximum of five per cent per year, to compensate for inflation.

The Board of Directors is currently composed of six student representatives who are elected in a campus wide referendum every March. There are also three representatives elected by the staff of the paper. The Board exists to insure the paper remains financially responsible.

A fee inflation/deflation mechanism will produce a firmer financial foundation for the paper. Costs of production are rising, and the Daily needs a simple, effective method of insuring the stability of the service it provides to students.

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Me, a refugee

by Valence Kalima
translated from French by
Angie Barrados

Have you ever asked yourself what you would do if, upon returning to Mirabel from a trip abroad, an immigration officer refused you entrance to Canada — your country and home?

A Canadian friend of mine who has lived for many years in my country, Rwanda, once told me that if this happened to him, he would burn down Mirabel. This might perhaps resolve the Dorval-Mirabel duel.

Being a refugee is to be refused entrance everywhere. It is also to nurture hopes and illusions that one cannot renounce easily. Being a refugee is to see your own psychological and socio-cultural foundations shaken, your identity permanently broken.

Every week, one or two people ask me if, after my studies, I want to return home. I ask them: "You who have always had a country for your home, can you understand that I have not had a home since the age of six? That my world has consisted only of a series of refugee camps? And that these camps were all too similar to concentration camps, where comings and goings were always controlled?"

You, who might not have never known the horror of war or have witnessed the murder of your loved ones; can you understand that it is not with happiness that one chooses exile? That foreign bread is bitter to the one who has not chosen freely to live there? In all of our eyes, isn't true that our own mother is the best of mothers?

Ten million refugees in the



world, two million broken families, separated by war, lack of freedom, torture. Ten million children's dreams broken. Is this a light weight for those who still have a conscience?

About 95% of refugees find themselves in countries whose standards of living are already very low. Crowded into camps, refugees are usually considered as hostile profiteers by the local population where the camps are located. They disturb the social

and cultural order of the host country. It is not uncommon that under such false impressions, the governments, under popular pressure, impose very restrictive policies on the refugees they have taken.

These refugees, who have been found guilty of exiling themselves to save their lives only find intolerance and persecution. They can not find the much desired peace in their new countries of exile.

culosis, pneumonia and malaria — all of which are treatable, if not preventable. Malnutrition plays a major role in all of these illnesses.

Measles, considered to be more of a nuisance in Canada than a killer, is a major cause of death. In one refugee camp in Southern Ethiopia, measles swept through the camp every few months killing as many as 40-50 each time.

Vaccination is a priority, but some children are missed because of the turnover in the camps, or because the fragile vaccine was not refrigerated properly on its long journey from a lab in Europe to this isolated camp 350 kilometers North of Addis Ababa.

Water is precious. At Bete, there is no running water but there is at least a good well, although only enough for cooking and drinking. Washing and cleaning cannot be done. Because of this, disease spreads fast especially gastro-enteritis, and skin diseases such as impetigo and scabies are rampant. Delousing is done regularly, even for the Canadian staff, who live in much better conditions than the refugees.

Housing is limited. Up to 20-40

people will all sleep together in one tent at night. If one of them has tuberculosis, soon they all will. These are ideal conditions for the spread of other respiratory infections, and of course the lice, fleas and mites that not only make life so miserable but also act as carriers for many diseases.

And to compound all these problems is the enormous psychological stress. People have lost all their land, homes and possessions. They are separated from all or part of their families, and often have no idea if their relatives are even alive. They are terrified of the past, and live in dread of being forced back.

Another major concern is for the stability of the camp, whether the host government will continue its support.

Every day in these camps is a struggle for life. The refugees are marking time, trying only to stay alive. They wait and pray for a miracle that will let them escape.

*Dr. Betsy Williams worked for 6 months in Bete Ethiopia in 1985
Dr. Menzies worked for two and a half years in Lesotho.*

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continued from page 5

year. The Canadian government, between 1971 and 1982, sent more than \$23 million to the Guatemalan government. Guatemala bought, among other things, \$1.5 million in aircraft and spare parts from Canadian companies.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka are a cultural and religious minority in the Sinhalese-dominated nation. They have been disenfranchised, denied the right to speak their own language, and denied even a basic way of life.

Tamil guerrillas are now fighting for independence, but the government forces do not discriminate between guerrillas and unarmed people when retaliating. Some estimate that there are as many as 100,000

Tamils who have been uprooted or forced to leave their homes.

Canada contributes to UN agencies, which in turn has contributed some \$500 million to the Sri Lankan government. Canada funded a hydro electric project in the East Province of the country (where most Tamils live). The project was started only after the Tamils living on the site were forcefully evicted.

Refugees are a sign that there are larger problems. The plight of the refugee often eclipses the plight of those who could not escape. Canadians should not content themselves with accommodating refugees. We should look deeper into the situations which cause refugees. If we look at , Guatemala, Sri Lanka and El Salvador, we may not like what we see.

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McGill Students' Society Elections

TO BE HELD TUESDAY OCT. 21, 1986 AND WEDNESDAY OCT. 22, 1986

THE FOLLOWING CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN ACCLAIMED

SENATE

MEDICINE
DAVID CLARKE

CFRM - RADIO MCGILL
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

HEATHER CORCORAN
RYERSON SYMONS

ANNOUNCEMENT OF REFERENDA

The following questions will be put to the electorate on Oct. 21 and 22.

1. Do you agree that the Students' Society of McGill University should join the Federation of University Students' Associations of Quebec (RAEU / FUSA) effective January 1, 1987, and to pay \$1.00 (one dollar) per student per term as the membership fee?

☐ yes ☐ no ☐ no opinion

2. Do you support an increase of \$1.00 (adjustable to the Consumer Price Index) in your Students' Society fees in order to create a WUSC (World University Service of Canada) scholarship fund enabling two student refugees a year to study at McGill University?

☐ yes ☐ no ☐ no opinion

"NO" COMMITTEE DECLARATION

According to the McGill Students' Society Constitution; a "No" committee may be formed in reference to the above referendum. Those interested should contact:

Andrew Dinsmore — Chief Returning Officer at 392-8928

POLLS WILL BE LOCATED AS FOLLOWS:

ADVANCE POLLS:

Tuesday, October 21, 1986 10:00 am-4:00 pm

- 1) Bishop Mountain Hall (4:00 - 7:00 p.m.)
- 2) Royal Victoria College (11:00 a.m. - 2:30 p.m.)
- 3) Bronfman
- 4) Burnside Hall
- 5) Education
- 6) Leacock
- 7) McConnell Engineering
- 8) Thomson House (4:00 - 7:00 p.m.)
- 9) Strathcona Anatomy and Dentistry
- 10) Union
- 11) Dental Clinic (Montréal General Dental Clinic) (11:00 a.m. - 2:30 p.m.)
- 12) Stewart Biology (South Block)

REGULAR POLLS:

Wednesday, October 22, 1986 10:00 am-4:00 pm

- 1) Arts
- 2) Bronfman
- 3) Burnside
- 4) Chancellor Day Hall
- 5) Leacock
- 6) McConnell Engineering
- 7) McIntyre Medical
- 8) Redpath Library
- 9) Stewart Biology (South Block)
- 10) Strathcona Music
- 11) Union
- 12) Wilson

SPECIAL ADVANCE POLL:

Monday, October 20, 1986 11:00 am-2:00 pm
(Social Work) - Wilson Hall

Andrew Dinsmore
Chief Returning Officer

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Refugees or immigrants: the vital distinction

by Mike Gordon
and Sarah Gurrin

Why does the Canadian government have such a hard time making a distinction between refugees and immigrants? Whether the ambiguity is an indication of Canadian foreign policy or the review process is in need of complete overhaul — or both — over 20,000 "backlogged" refugee claimants are caught in the political 'limbo' of Canadian immigration laws.

"I am still a refugee," said Concordia professor Chengiah Ragavan, a South African refugee who arrived through London and has been teaching in Québec since 1981.

"The aim is to go home. We're not like immigrants. We have not come to settle, we want to return to a free country — a free South Africa," he said.

Racial, cultural, political / military and economic persecution, combined with massive health and environmental threats, often force the refugee to seek only temporary asylum in another country. As a refugee is usually unable to return to her / his home country, the distinction between an immigrant and a refugee usually centers around the latter's willingness to be repatriated once conditions in her / his country become favorable.

The Geneva Convention of 1951 defines refugees as people whose lives or freedom are threatened, and thus are forced to leave their homeland. Not until the immigration act of 1976, when Canada adopted the principles of the convention, was the need for a distinct legal status for refugees recognized.

However, Canada's belated and limited recognition of the plight of refugees only provides those seeking asylum in Canada with a temporary status which includes no guarantee that they will not be sent elsewhere. Moreover, they have no access to services or employment in Canada.

According to Chris Ferguson, a chaplain and refugee activist at McGill's Newman Centre, Canadian law concerning refugees, following the adoption of the Geneva Convention principles, is based on a policy of 'non-refusment.'

"This is best translated as 'non-involuntary repatriation,'" said Ferguson. "In other words, the law only says refugees can not be sent back against their will to a potentially life-threatening situation."

Refugees and groups lobbying for their rights have been voicing their opposition to Bill C-24, the present Immigration Act, since 1975. A major reason for this protest is that the bureaucracy required to administer Bill C-24 causes painfully long and dangerous delays in the granting of refugee status.

Although the Geneva Conven-

tion makes provisions for the basic forms of persecution listed above, Ferguson said the ambiguities in Canadian law can prevent a refugee from receiving desperately-needed asylum.

"A person living in a rural area of Guatemala, for example, where surrounding villages have been burnt down, and people have been raped, robbed, tortured and slaughtered, may not, because it hasn't yet happened to them, be eligible for asylum in Canada," he said.

States a 1982 *All Canadian Bulletin*, "It is not beyond contemplation that a student or trade unionist in Guatemala, for example, could be murdered while

right of appeal, (s)he is faced with the same bureaucratic obstacles in the appeal process.

Pañ Abah, a Mayan refugee in Montréal, said that, "Only a small number of people who come here have gone through the worst problems in their own countries."

Abah says that because the Canadian government chooses which country's refugees receive priority entrance to Canada, "many of the most repressed peoples in war-torn countries are never heard."

He also said that the majority of Guatemalans in Canada arrived 5 to 10 years ago. The Canadian government has since

The result was an April 4, 1985 ruling which declared that parts of Canada's Immigration Act violate the rights of refugees as set out in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Bill of Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"I believe therefore that a Convention Refugee who does not have a safe haven is entitled to rely on this country's willingness to live up to the obligations it has undertaken as a signatory to the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees," stated Justice B. Wilson.

The ruling revealed several in-

ministrative quotas," no comprehensive changes were made to the refugee determination process itself. Only a new, but significant interpretation of claimants' rights under Charter protection was established.

According to Sylvie Gagnon, coordinator for the working Centre on Immigration at le Ligue des Droits et Libertés, the administrative changes which were decided upon were both late and inappropriate.

"What all the groups demanded in the Supreme Court was a special program for refugees that would guarantee them permanent landing in Canada.

"Instead, the government imposed a program of case-by-case review — which is difficult. As well, it started out with a 2 month delay," she said.

Gagnon said the review process, which began three weeks ago, has examined 443 out of 11,000 refugee claimant cases in Québec. "Out of those 443, 57 were delayed, 301 were accepted, and only six were admitted on 'humanitarian' grounds.

"All the others were accepted on immigration criteria — namely, they had a job. In other words, they had proof they could establish themselves quite properly here," she said.

Gagnon said that the 85 refugees refused status were "mostly on welfare."

Citing the rate of unsuccessful demands at about 20 per cent, she said that out of 85,000 refugees in Canada, only 1200 claimants were admitted as refugees, while 15,000 'refugees' — persons she describes as "selected from camps, embassies and universities," are admitted based on immigration criteria.

"It is a clear indication of the way in which the government fulfills its international responsibility," she said.

An official at the Québec Ministry of Immigration and Employment, who wished to remain anonymous, revealed that the immigration act of 1976 stated that a refugee, once recognized as such by the Canadian authorities, could be sponsored by a non-governmental organization and private groups of Canadian citizens willing to undertake legal sponsorship.

"From 1979 to 1982, more refugees came to Canada through these private sponsoring groups than through the government quota system", she said.

She further estimated that more than a thousand groups of at least ten people each were involved in the support of Vietnamese refugees during that period. This new amendment has greatly increased the influx of people finding refuge in Canada, especially since the number of independently sponsored refugees is not included in the government quotas.

Refugee quotas are stringently established each year on the

continued on page 13



waiting for a Canadian visa."

Under the Act, a claimant first requests status at a hearing. The Refugee Status Advisory Committee then considers the hearing results to determine the claimant's eligibility under the Geneva Convention. Finally, a notice is sent to the Minister of Immigration who determines whether the claimant is actually a 'refugee.'

But, says Ferguson, "the decision is ultimately made by one of those people in the blue suits and anyone will tell you that an immigration officer's job is to keep immigrants out of Canada."

Though a claimant has the

limited the number of Guatemalans allowed entry, and "it is now much more difficult for people undergoing severe repression today, to leave the country — especially the Mayans." Though it is generally hard for Latinos and Mayans to enter Canada, it is even harder for them to leave their own countries.

After considerable pressure from a coalition of refugee groups, and individuals such as Rabbi Gunter Plaut, a Supreme Court inquiry into the entire refugee determination process in Canada was launched.

adequacies in the determination process, including the lack of any oral hearing at any stage for a claimant, and the denial of a claimant's right to have access to information in her / his file.

The most significant result, however, was the placing of claimants (or anyone else on Canadian soil) under the protection of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

However, despite statements from Justice Wilson that, "the refugees' rights prevail over ad-

Zambia and the burden of Southern

by Nigel Crawhall

With 106,000 refugees, Zambia has the largest number of displaced people in Southern Africa. Yet, unlike the Horn of Africa where much of the crisis is due to natural causes, Southern Africa's refugee plight is almost entirely political in nature.

The South African régime's military presence in the region has destabilized several neighbouring states and has created a general sense of fear among frontline peoples. The result has been hundreds of thousands of refugees moving north away from the source of danger.

In the early 19th century the Zulu military commander, Shaka, disrupted all of Southern Africa through his military conquests. Shards of refugee bands travelled as far north as present day Tanzania. This period is known as

'mfecane,' or 'the time of great upheaval.'

In 1986 the 'mfecane' has come again. Now Zambia is the focus of the northern exodus of refugees from bordering countries.

The Namibians

The main camp for Namibian refugees in Zambia is at Nyango. A majority of the several thousand refugees are youths, including a large number of young mothers. Canadian and Quebec aid organizations have been involved in Nyango since the early 1980's.

Far from being dispirited, the mood at the settlement is positive. Denizens have access to health and educational facilities and work cooperatively on agriculture. The desire of most is to return to an independent Namibia or to join the liberation army as soon as they can.

The League of Nations granted South Africa a mandate over Namibia after the First World War. The United Nations revoked this mandate in 1966, and took on full responsibility for bringing about independence. The U.N. position on Namibia was reinforced by a 1971 'advising opinion' of the International Court of Justice.

The South Africans, however, ignored international opinion and imposed an economic and political system of Apartheid in the country. South Africa, Canada and other countries took advantage of the occupation to mine extensively for uranium and other minerals.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was formed in the early 1960's and rapidly became the centre of Namibian resistance. In 1966, SWAPO formed the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). PLAN engaged the South African Defense

Force (SADF) with guerilla tactics. The war of liberation continues.

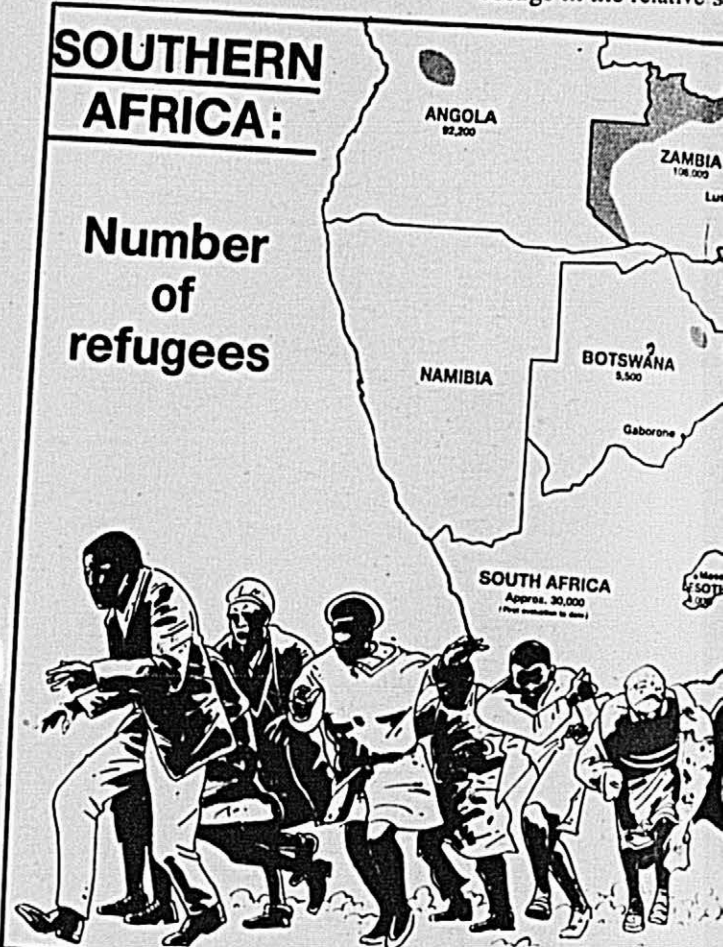
The 'Centre d'Information et documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique Australe' (CIDMAA)

estimates that over 100,000 have fled since the war began.

In one raid at Kassim, 600 Namibians were killed. SADF attacks drive the refugees into the relative safety of Zambia.

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

Number of refugees



El Salvador's ousted women

Thousands of refugees have fled El Salvador in the last decade. Though many women are active in the revolutionary armed forces, others are often forced to leave their country out of political or economic necessity.

Miriam Nieto is a twenty-one year old refugee. She laughed when asked why she left her home and family in El Salvador.

"I was a high school student and to be a student in El Salvador is a crime because they think you are helping the communists.

"It sounds crazy but if you wear

chies," she said. She stayed with a group of Quakers in Albany, New York and then came to Montréal. She has lived in Montréal for a year but cannot get a job.

"I can't speak french, but I can't take french courses because I don't have a permanent visa," she explained.

Refugees without landed immigrant status cannot take free french courses offered at the Centres Orientations des Formation pour les Immigrants (COFI). Getting landed immigrant status takes one to two years. A few

Salvador because of "economic difficulties."

"The war is so big (in El Salvador), the country is starving," said Nieto.

Hasbun tried to get work as a salesperson or a receptionist — her field of experience — but was unsuccessful.

"They prefer to give jobs to Canadians," she said. "It's just factory work at minimum wage for immigrants."

Hasbun said some refugees can get jobs but "it's not legal so the boss can pay any amount."

Hasbun is able to get extra money from welfare because of her community work with the SWA. The Québec Welfare office gives \$25 a month to those who do twenty hours of community work a week.

The SWA also offers french courses, counselling for battered women, and lectures about the rights of women and the law in Québec. Their services are available to all Central and Latin American women.

"We celebrate national dates and birthdays and have activities every two weeks," said Hasbun.

"We try to help women adapt to the system," she added.

The Women's Centre in Montréal offers similar programs for immigrant women.

"We offer individual counselling, we go with women to the government to fight for their rights because we have a stronger grasp of the language," said Nicole Guidon, a counsellor for Le Centre des Femmes.

The Centre also organizes discussion groups and pressures the government to defend the rights of refugees.

Guidon outlined some of the problems that women immigrants face. "They are forced to assume a traditional role in conflict with the Canadian way of life," she said.

As well, she explained, many women are faced with the double job of caring for children and having to work at the same time.

The "loss of a network" is an additional hardship, she said, because women lose contact with other women who are in the same position as themselves.

Afghanistan's

by Kamran Memon

Although refugees from Afghanistan after the Soviet invasion make up over half of the world's refugee population, the Canadian and U.S. media has consistently chosen not to present the full extent of the problem.

The common perception is that the U.S. is actively involved in combatting

continuation of the problem. Afghanistan is in the hands of the U.S.

"The U.S. are unable to handle Afghan politics, as they rely upon foreigners' help. The reason they fight is for love of country," he said. "Because of this, the



HUMANITARIAN AID, AGAIN

Soviet influence in Afghanistan. But why do we hear so much about the Contras and so little the Mujahideen?

A McGill student (who wished to remain anonymous), who fought for the Afghan rebels told to The Daily that a

have a foothold among freedom fighters following the Soviet withdrawal. At present, they exploit the situation for political purposes," he continued. The U.S. is thus con-



by Nairne Holtz

jeans and tennis shoes, the government thinks you are a guerilla," she maintained.

Nieto was not involved in politics in El Salvador, "only protests for the student situation," she said.

Three years ago Nieto got a visa to Mexico where she lived for a year before moving to the United States.

"I supported myself through church

non-sectarian organizations do offer free french courses for refugees.

Nieto draws \$171 a month from welfare with her minister's permit.

"Women immigrants face racism and sexism so they receive the worst jobs," said Selina Hasbun, a coordinator of the Salvadorean Women's Association (SWA).

Hasbun came to Montréal two years ago from Belize after leaving El

Africa's displaced

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The Angolans

The deepening crisis in Angola has led to an increased flow of refugees into Zambia. Between December, 1985 and June, 1986, the number of Angolans in

Zambian camps and settlements climbed by 12,000 to a total of 88,000.

Two thirds of the recent arrivals have moved into Mwinilungwa province in the extreme northwest. Food rations provided by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Food Programme are distributed by Catholic and Protestant missions. Malaria and malnutrition among the youngest children are cited by Bruno Faucher of the French voluntary agency, Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), as the major health problem.

The Zambian government and the UNHCR are sponsoring a simultaneous repatriation movement of Angolans who had earlier settled in Western Zambia. Over 500 Angolans voluntarily repatriated in 1985, and the process is continuing this year.

When the Portuguese empire collapsed in 1974, three liberation movements scrambled for power in Angola. 'O Movimento Popular pela Libertação da Angola (MPLA) emerged with the widest margin of support and established itself as a legitimate national government in all but the most Southern provinces.

It was here that the Uniao Nacional pela Independencia Total da Angola (UNITA) rekindled itself with aid from the Republic of South Africa, and the CIA. With renewed forces, UNITA launched a guerilla war against the government. During this time the MPLA maintained itself with troops and non-military aid from Cuba.

Under President Carter, UNITA's aid from the U.S. government was curtailed. In the Reagan administration, right-wing American interests have been openly funding UNITA along with the South African government and the CIA.

The continuing war in Namibia has made Angola host to over 90,000 refugees. The combined effect of South Africa's occupation of Namibia, and military aggression inside Angola, has brought the economy and resources of the Luanda government under considerable strain.

According to Stephen MacDonald, associate field officer for the UNHCR in Lusaka, Zambia last year, the situation of Angolan refugees should be distinguished from the nightmare pictures in the Horn of Africa.

He makes a distinction between conditions in 'camps' and 'settlements.' The former refers to tent cities entirely dependent on outside aid, while the latter have permanent dwellings and a viable internal economies.

As close relations between the Mbunda from Angola, and the Lozi in Zambia already exist, MacDonald said the immigration of Angolans has been made easier.

"The border has been open for these interrelated groups to trade, travel and intermarry," he said.

The Mozambicans

Since September 1985, the UNHCR estimates that 16,500 Mozambicans have entered Zambia as refugees. They mainly settled in the adjacent eastern provinces of Chadiza, Katete and Petauke. Eighteen food distribution centres have been established for them by the Zambian Red Cross. Health care workers with MSF would like to set up supplementary feeding centres, but are thwarted by the fact that the refugees are scattered over hundreds of acres.

Authorities are moving many refugees to temporary settlement at Msanzara. There, each family is allocated two hectares of land, which should enable them to produce ample food to live on. It is a primary goal of the UNHCR and the host government to ensure that the refugees are self-sufficient.

When the Lisbon régime collapsed in Mozambique in the mid-1970s, the Frente de Libertação da Moçambique (FRELIMO) was clearly the only organized liberation movement. FRELIMO rapidly moved to create the first independent government.

As in Angola, the South African government began to sponsor 'contra' groups inside the country. But unlike the units in Angola, these armed factions were only loosely-knit, and tended to operate as bandits rather than a cohesive counter-revolutionary force.

Nonetheless, the Movimento Nacional Resistencia (MNR) soon came to pose a serious threat to Maputo, the capital that is in the extreme south of

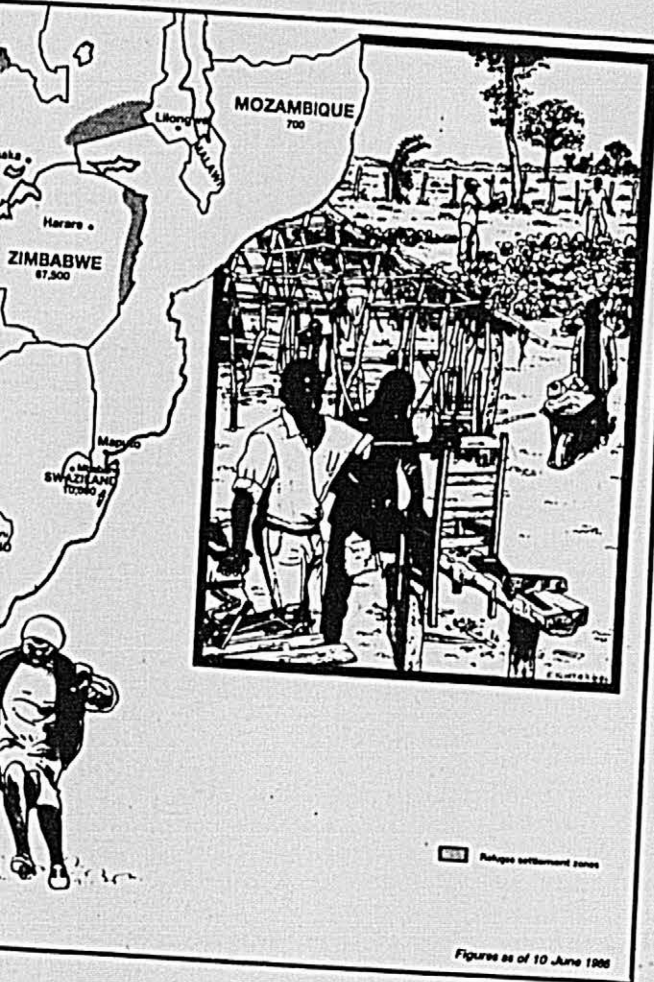
The Zairois

Next to Angola, MacDonald classified refugees from Zaire as the second largest group in Zambia. He noted that, unlike the Angolans and Mozambicans, the presence of Zairois is not looked upon favourably by the Zambians. A parallel situation exists in Tanzania, which also grants asylum to Zairois refugees.

These are perhaps the only grouping of refugees which are not fleeing a political situation fostered by the Pretoria government. They are nonetheless escaping their own politico-military crisis.

When independence came to the Belgian Congo in the early 1960s, it was swift and chaotic. With the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, Socialist and African nationalist, the independence movement lost a leading figure. The subsequent military coup, staged by what had been the colonial army, thrust Mobutu Sese Seko into his present dictatorship.

In the following years, Mobutu has



silent exodus

resent war in most propaganda footage with the least
est interests of amount of involvement.

The most organised Afghan resistance is in the Pengeshir valley in North Eastern Afghanistan near the Pakistani border. The rebels mainly control the mountains, while the Soviets dominate the cities.

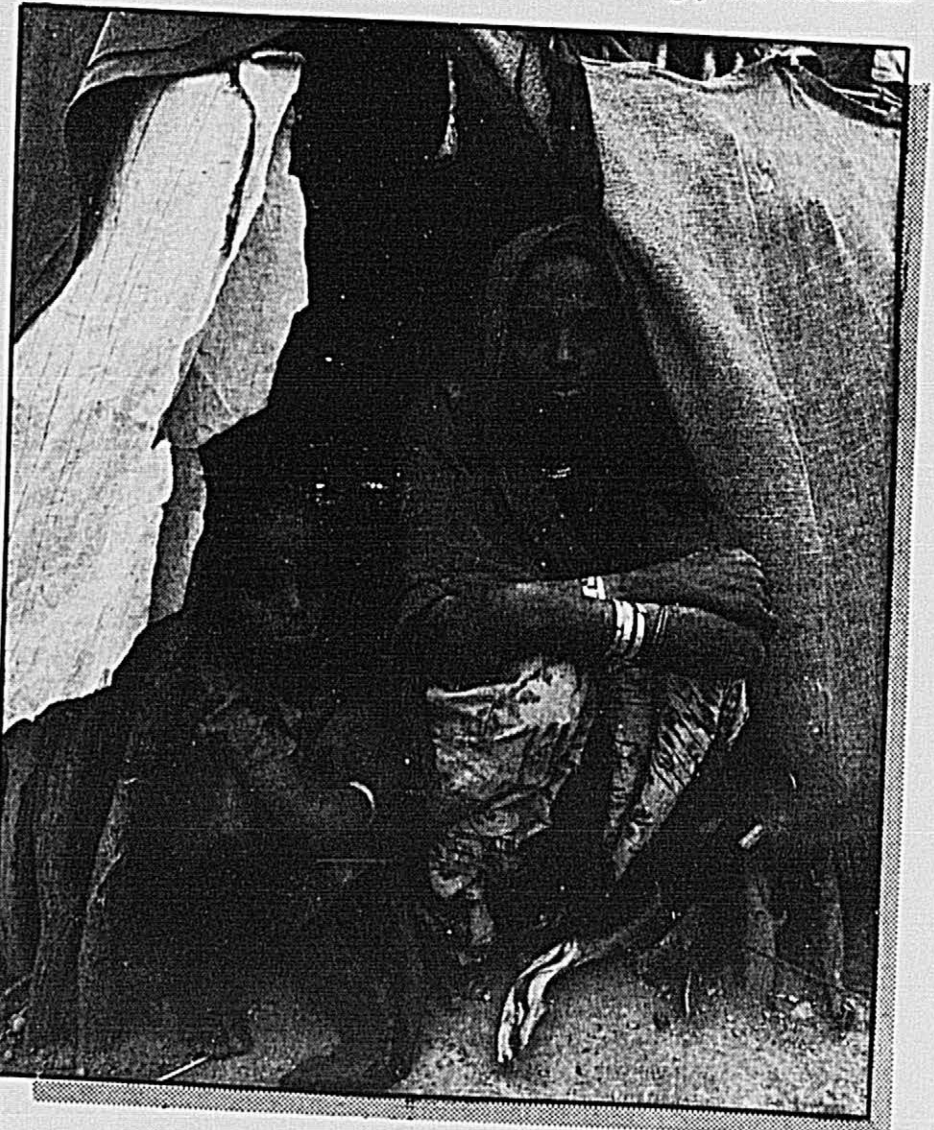
Soviet repression continues throughout most of the country. Between four and five million Afghans have fled their homeland for Pakistan, Iran, and the West. This number is one-third of Afghanistan's pre-war population.

Over 45,000 went to Pakistan in 1985 alone. Most of the refugees live in the Northwest Frontier of Pakistan. Peshawar in Pakistan has become the largest Afghan city after Kabul. Most of the refugees are prepared for a long stay. They have built themselves houses of dried mud and stone, dug shallow wells, established schools, and started small businesses.

The Pakistani government has handled the influx of Afghani refugees very well. This has been praised by those involved in giving aid.

The Pakistani people, according to Edward Girardet of Asia have demonstrated unusual hospitality and tolerance towards the Afghans. "They have also permitted the Afghans to integrate freely into the system."

However, Girardet adds that "a prolonged stay is increasingly taxing the hospitality of their Pakistani hosts. The Afghans and Pakistanis are competing for pasture and grazing rights for their herds, for water, for firewood and for jobs."



the country.

In 1984, in the face of a worsening drought and increased attacks by the MNR, FRELIMO agreed to sign a non-aggression pact with the South African government. This pact is known as the Nkomati Accord. And, as a desperate attempt to pull the country out of a nose-dive, it barely succeeded.

The accord was soon violated by renewed South African support for the MNR. Attempts to cope with the drought were sabotaged by the MNR and foreign aid and health care-workers became new targets for kidnappings and assassinations.

In the past several months the MNR — with increasing private U.S. aid — has expanded its operations into the central and northern regions of the country.

This has caused a massive influx of refugees into Zambia and Zimbabwe.

ruled with absolute despotism. All of the economy is geared towards the enhancement of Mobutu and his close circle of favoured elites.

Massive opposition to Mobutu's régime has led to clashes between the military and civilian population. Thousands of Zairois are forced to seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

Zaire's distinction as one of the few African nations having good diplomatic relations with Pretoria becomes increasingly significant in the Southern African context.

The flight of Southern Africa's refugees:

Why Zambia?

Given the role of the South African government in creating this 'second mfecane,' why are refugees pouring into Zambia?

Part of the answer lies in Zambia's

continued on page 13

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UNDERGRADUATE SOCIETY****ELECTION
For Arts Representative to Council
T O M O R R O W****Dave
BATE**

Dave Bate has been involved in many aspects of the McGill community, from Molson Hall Policy Committee to Crown Investment Society. Dave supports: new student services building; increasing loans and bursaries; upgrading

food services (dell shoppes, credit system); construction of the athletic complex; completion of 4-floor bookstore. As Arts Representative, Dave Bate will bring experience and responsibility to student government.

**J. Peter
NIXON**

Students, especially Arts Students, have become extremely marginalized. Funding cuts, higher fees, and a flawed Loans and Bursaries system have the potential to limit both the quality of our education and its accessibility. As Arts Rep

to Council, I would commit myself to mobilizing Students' Council to fight for changes for Arts students and students in general.

LOCATION OF POLLS**Tuesday, Oct. 21, 1986****Advance Polls****10:00 am - 4:00 pm****Bishop Mountain Hall**
(4:00 - 7:00 pm)**Royal Victoria College**
(11:00 am - 2:30 pm)**Leacock
Union****Wednesday, Oct. 22, 1986****Regular Polls****10:00 am - 4:00 pm****Arts
Bronfman
Leacock
Redpath Library
Union****PLEASE BRING MCGILL I.D.
ARTS STUDENTS ONLY****Staff meeting, Monday****17h00, Union B-03****Newswriters meeting, 16h30,
same delightful location**The co-ordinators of this extra-special issue were:
Vipul Desai, Phinjo Gombu-Sherpa, Mike Gordon,
Ines Tewfik. May they rest in peace.**letters****To the Daily:**

Maybe you can tell me why I MUST have my picture taken at Van Dyke Studios for it to appear in *Old McGill '87*. Why can I not have it taken at another studio — of my choice — and arrange for that studio to send it to the yearbook? I do not mind paying to have my picture taken, but I do mind being herded into Van Dyke's and told that if I do not pay them to do the job I can forget it. What makes Van Dyke's so very special? Do they know someone at McGill, or are they just so superior to all the competition that they deserve a McGill monopoly? Not only is Van Dyke's handed this monopoly, but they have the audacity to charge \$17.95 for which I get one 5 X 7 colour print — which, I am told, is "FREE OF CHARGE". This, of course, is an obscene rip-off which goes on year after year, and which funnels countless thousands of dollars' worth of business into Van Dyke's every year. Nevertheless, I am to understand that I must give Van Dyke's my business or I can forget about seeing my smiling face in the yearbook. Why?

Mathew F. Farfan
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October 20**

P.C. McGill: presents the Hon. Otto Jelinek, Minister of Sport. 17h00, Union 302.

Access McGill: Meeting, 16h00, Union B06.

Rick Hansen's Man in Motion World Tour: Speaker Amanda Reid, Rick's physiotherapist. Video and slides of trip, discussion of difficulties Rick has faced. \$2.00 admission, proceeds go to spinal cord research. 17h00, Leacock 132.**GALOM:** Movie night and coffeehouse, featuring *The Hunger*. Luscious. 19h30, Union 425.**McGill Debating Union:** House Debate, 18h00, Union 107.**GALOM:** Coming-out group planning session, everyone welcome. 19h30, Union 417.**McGill Alpine Ski Team:** Dryland training, council meeting to follow. Fees due Oct. 30. 17h00, Molson Stadium.**Canadian Entrepreneurs Alliance:** Fall '86 monthly meeting for new and existing entrepreneurs. 18h00, Ramada Inn, 1005 Guy. Admission: Members free, \$10.00 others. Info: 871-8615.**Tuesday
October 21****Uhuru Na Ufahamu:** presents José Ramos-Horta, Fretilin observer at the UN speaking on East Timor, 16h30 Union 107/108.**Rick Hansen's Man in Motion World Tour:** Speaker Amanda Reid, Rick's physiotherapist. Video and slides of trip, discussion of difficulties Rick has faced. \$2.00 admission, proceeds go to spinal cord research. 17h00, Leacock 132.**Newman Centre (chapel):** Catholic worship (liturgy). 17h15, 3484 Peel.**Military Research in the University:** The ethical considerations. Talk by Gregory Baum, theologian and newly appointed Professor of Religious Studies. 12h00, Redpath Museum Amphitheatre.**McGill AIDS Committee:** Organisation and information meeting, 18h30, Union 425.**Players' Theatre:** Presents Eugene Ionesco's *Macbeth*. Tues. Oct. 21 — Sat. Oct. 25. Students and Seniors \$4.00, general public \$6.00. Players' Theatre, 3rd floor Union.**Hillel:** Israeli Folkdancing. Beginners 19h00, intermediates 20h00. Students \$1.50, others \$2.00. Union 301.**B•B ELECTROLYSIS
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Occupied Palestine: the politics of living

by Ines Tewfik

Jabalia refugee camp in occupied Gaza: a brutal sun illuminates the harsh expanses of yellow sand. Home to 80,000 Palestinians under Israeli occupation, the fear and frustration of its inhabitants is almost palpable in the ominous silence which echoes throughout the camp.

In the homes we visited during August 1986, we saw mostly old men and women, and young girls. The majority of young men and women, we were told, had gone to work in Israeli factories and construction projects, where the average daily salary, for what is often 13 hours' work, is eight Israeli Shekels (IS) — approximately eight Canadian dollars). In every home we visited, at least one or two family members were in prison.

An elderly woman showed us photographs of her two sons, both of whom had been jailed by the Israeli authorities. But the inordinate number of Palestinians in jail is not surprising.

Israel governs 'Occupied Palestine' through 'Military Orders,' a labyrinthine system of regulations which define "security offences" as activities ranging from possession of forbidden reading material, wearing or drawing the colours of the Palestinian flag, to planting bombs.

In addition, there are provisions for arrest without charge and imprisonment for up to 18 days, at which time the prisoner must be taken before a judge. The judge may condemn the prisoner to a six month, renewable sentence — still without charges.

An old woman had eight daughters, none of whom she allowed to work for the Israelis because of the harassment and

travel back and forth.

Before 4:00 a.m., the men and women are at a clearing in Gaza City. Hundreds stand and wait until Israeli employers come with trucks and pick those who will work for them that day. Those who are not chosen must return to their camps or villages empty-handed. This can prove devastating to the families they must support. There is no unemployment insurance, old age pension or welfare for Palestinians, though they pay the same taxes as Israelis.

Those who are chosen to work face additional problems. Some simply do not earn enough to cover transportation costs back and forth across the border. Though some employers transport their workers in crowded trucks, many are not willing to go to the trouble. As a result, a dangerous practice has arisen of locking workers overnight in the factories and in 'factory detention camps.'

Noam Chomsky, in *The Fateful Triangle*, writes that this "practice...became public knowledge when several were found burned to death in a locked room after a fire in a small Tel Aviv factory. Others have been kept under armed guard behind barbed wire in factory detention camps, including one owned by Histadrut, the socialist trade union."

In a feature entitled "Letter from Tel Aviv," published January 24, 1986 in *Middle East International* magazine, author Elfi Pallis describes his experience at the home of elderly Israeli friends.

"Clinging to the side of their house in a pleasant, tree-lined street in prestigious north Tel Aviv is a small, crooked cardboard shed. When I ask whether this is a playhut built by the

that he is a decent chap. He does not steal and has said that he does not approve of terrorism. 'Everybody wants peace and quiet to bring up their families,' is what he told them. They think he has a wife and children, but are not sure; nor do they know where he gets water and cooks his meals. The shed must be cold during winter nights, even if the thin plastic sheet on the roof does keep the rain out."

The population from refugee camps and villages under Israeli occupation has provided Israel with a valuable by-product of land

is exceptionally mobile, can be dismissed without notice and moved from place to place, does not strike and does not present 'demands' as does his Israeli counterpart.

"In short, from many economic considerations, workers from the territories are a bargain for the Israeli economy...they exist when and where required and make a full contribution to the production cycle."

Palestinians also provide a convenient buffer for Israeli workers — they are the last to be hired during a boom and the first to be fired

rorize the inhabitants.

In Jabalia, we commented on the crowding of ramshackle shelters, with sections of uncultivated and uninhabited land stretching between them. "There were houses here," we were told. But as the camps became overcrowded when more and more were thrown off their land, "resistance to the occupation grew in the camp, in the form of protests, demonstrations and rock-throwing."

"One day, the army came and bulldozed entire neighborhoods to make room for their tanks to



Palestinian forced to run the gauntlet

confiscations, the destruction of Palestinian crops, and limits on Palestinian industry.

On 18 May, 1976, the respected Israeli newspaper *Davar* published this economic analysis: "These (Palestinian) workers have many advantages over Israeli workers...Among Israeli workers there exist problems of low work

in a recession. They have little choice, since so many are prevented from cultivating their land or engaging in industry which might compete with that of the Israelis.

In the January, 1982 issue of *Labour, Capital and Society*, M.K. Budeiri discloses that although the GNP of the West Bank has gone up in recent years, this is the result of earnings brought in from outside, from commuting workers in Israel or remittances from Palestinians living elsewhere in the Arab world.

Industrialization among Palestinians is actually declining, while the cost of living skyrockets and permanent unemployment rises as a result of the Israeli recession. According to a 1983 PHRC report, between 1970 and 1977, while inflation averaged 400 per cent in Israel, it was 500 per cent in the West Bank and 600 per cent in Gaza.

Moreover, Palestinians from occupied Palestine receive in Israel 40 per cent of the average Israeli wage. Those who work in the West Bank and Gaza earn between 60 and 90 percent less than Palestinians who commute to work in Israel.

Economic exploitation, however, is but one aspect of Israeli oppression of the refugees of Palestine. The camps are extremely vulnerable to violent attacks by the army as well as by fanatic Israeli settlers who are protected and given virtual *carte blanche* by the military to ter-

move around freely," said one young man in the camp.

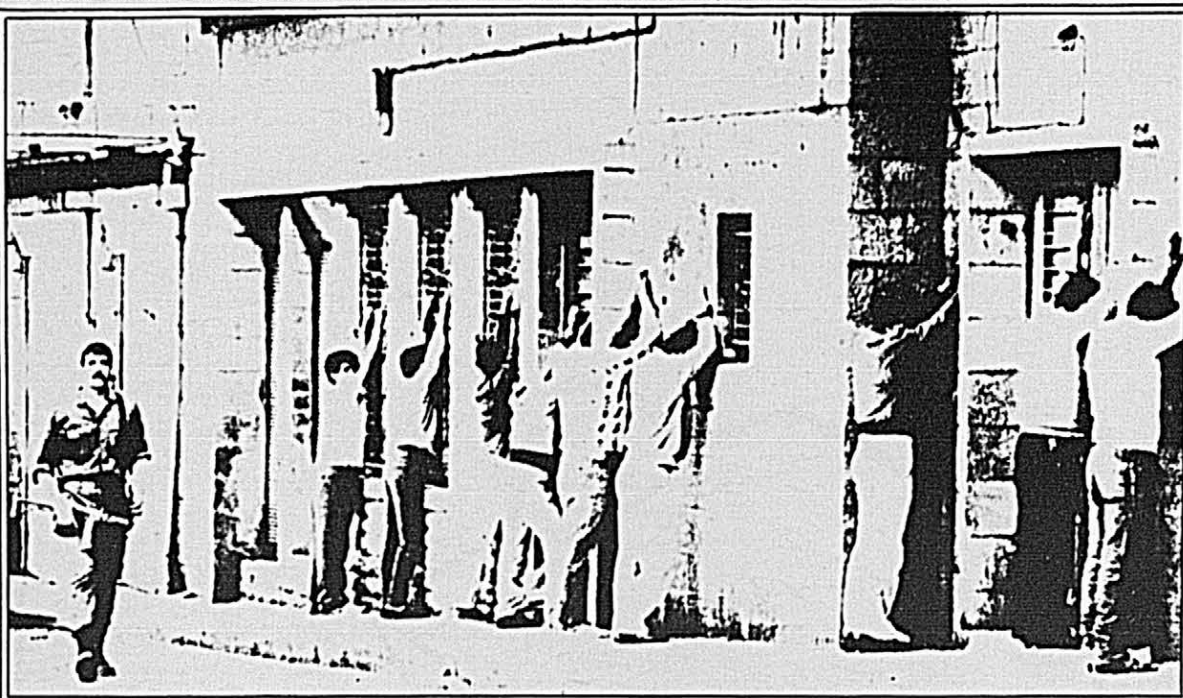
On February 19, 1985, Rabbi Moshe Levinger and members of his Gush Emunim settler movement organized a 15-week siege of Dheisheh refugee camp in the West Bank. Dheisheh used to have 20 entrances, gradually sealed by the Israeli military as punishment for stone-throwing by Palestinian children. On October 8, entrances were blocked with boulders, concrete-filled oil drums, and coils of barbed-wire, leaving only one entrance at the back of the camp.

According to the Palestine Human Rights Newsletter of March 1985, "The practical effect of this policy of isolation and siege is to make day-to-day camp life extremely difficult. Traffic is stopped, daily shopping is impossible, and medical emergencies are complicated because ambulances cannot speedily enter the camp."

The Gush Emunim followers of Rabbi Levinger were mostly armed, and ensured that no one save themselves could leave or enter the camp. Israeli soldiers patrolled nearby, seeming more intent on serving as back-up to the settlers than on dispersing them.

"We feel like we're trapped here, waiting for another Sabra-Shatila (massacre) to happen to us," said one woman.

After 15 weeks of siege, Levinger and his followers agreed to leave in exchange for a promise



poor working conditions to which migrant Palestinian workers are subjected. Though Jewish settlers in the occupied territories may come and go as they wish, it is illegal for Palestinians from the occupied territories to spend the night within the pre-1967 Israeli borders. Migrant workers must go to considerable expense — often half their salary or more — to

residents' children, they put me right without a trace of embarrassment. It is 'the Arab' who stays in the shed during weekdays, they explained to me. He cleans and gardens for the streets' residents and goes back to his village on weekends.

"From the name of the 'village' I gather that it is, in fact, a refugee camp. They are eager to point out

productivity and invisible unemployment while workers coming from the territories possess a high productivity, and hidden unemployment can hardly be found amongst them.

"It is almost impossible to fire an Israeli worker, impossible to re-locate him without his permission and without a wage increase; on the other hand an Arab worker

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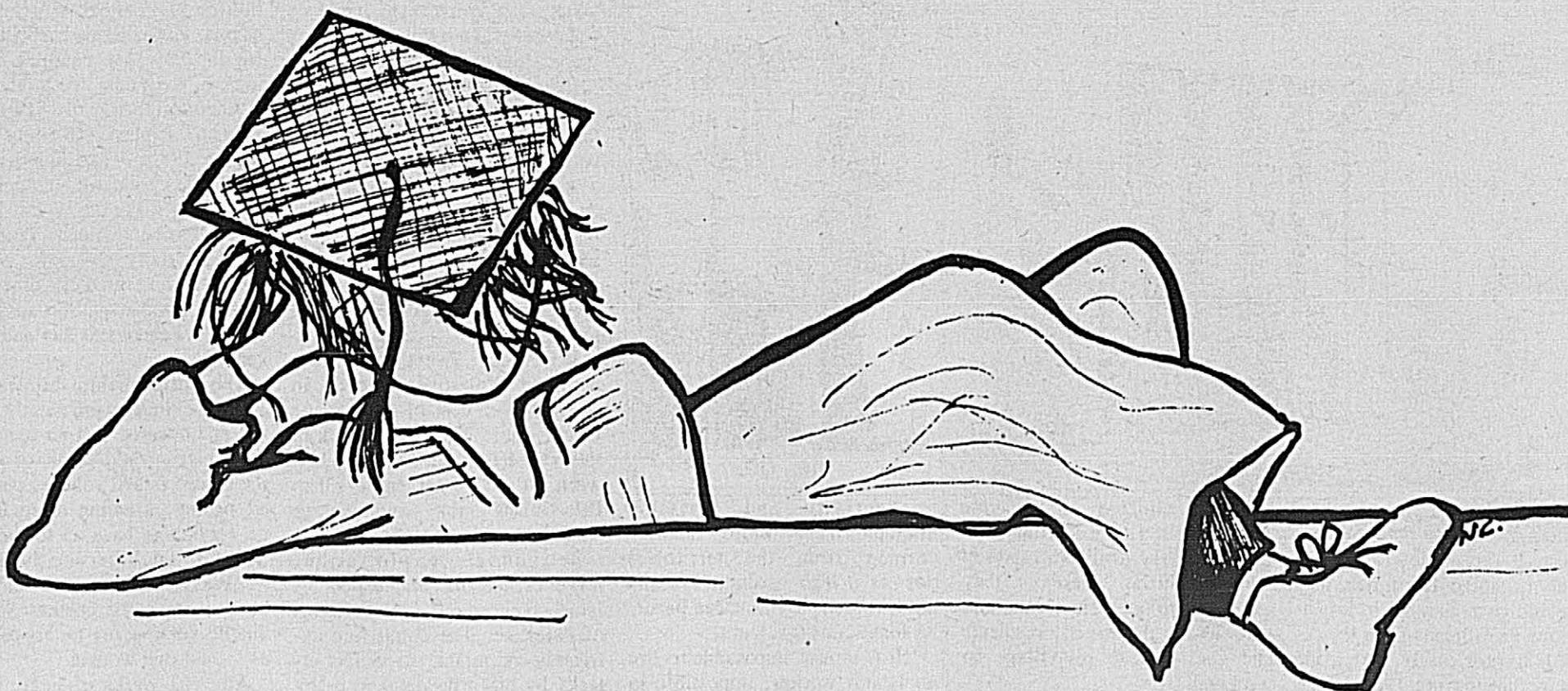
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...the politics of living

continued from page 11

by Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin that Palestinian stone throwers would receive even harsher penalties in the future. Since then, harassment of Dheisheh's refugees has increased. Huge floodlights illuminate the camp at night, ensuring that there is no privacy; watchtowers loom over the barbed-wire, and the refugees of Dheisheh continue to live in daily insecurity — deprived of their property and their freedom.

In the spring of 1982, after the Israeli authorities had dismissed several West Bank mayors, widespread protests and demonstrations occurred during which many protestors were shot, beaten and tortured by the occupying army.

During the trial of 7 members of the Israeli army in December that year, Captain Atzi Mordechai, an Israeli officer serving in the

West Bank, testified that "In addition to this business where we work to discover the provocateurs, you *tertut* the population. Population *tertut* does not mean that you punish those who did something, but you simply round up everyone, just like that."

The word *tertut* is Hebrew army slang, and although its exact meaning is widely argued, it is generally agreed to refer to semi-torturous exercises that are degrading for a soldier to carry out.

On February 14, 1983, *Newsweek* magazine ran a special feature on political prisoners in which they further clarify the meaning of *tertut*. "Beyond constant police patrols, the most common manifestations of *tertut* are the wholesale roundups that take place whenever West Bank Arabs stage demonstrations.

"Israeli border police have been witnessed forcing Arabs to sing the Israeli national anthem, slap each others' faces and crawl and bark like dogs. The police also arrest thousands of Arabs each year on "security" charges which can range from blatant terrorism to simply reading blacklisted books."

Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan recommended in 1982 that a detention / exile camp be established "even if it does not have the conditions of a normal prison", to accommodate the large numbers of political prisoners who are arrested without charge or warrant under Military Order 378.

In May 1982, al-Fara'ah in the West Bank was made into such a camp, and added onto the list of other 'detention' camps already in existence.

Originally built by the British,

it served as an army camp under the British and Jordanian administrations. The old British and Jordanian stables, divided into horse pens, now house Palestinian prisoners without toilets or running water.

There are also nine rooms without water or toilets, 20 square metres each, which have housed up to 30 prisoners each. When the prison cannot contain all the detainees, three by six metre tents are set up in the prison yard, with up to 50 prisoners in each.

In its Fall 1984 Bulletin, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, a Chicago-based watchdog organization, published eyewitness accounts and sworn affidavits collected by researchers regarding the systematic and regular use of torture on prisoners in el-Fara'ah. Other groups, such

as Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, individuals such as Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer, and newspapers such as the Sunday Times in its 1977 report, have also documented these atrocities.

In Jabalia, the old woman gestures towards the shelter that served as a home to her husband and six children.

"They threw us off our land and destroyed our house because their laws said it was illegal for us to live there. They destroyed our house in the camp five times because we will not be 'relocated' away from our families. So even this shelter is illegal.

"According to their laws, we are illegal."

...divestment figures off

continued from page 3

"We could have gotten rid of half of our portfolio, but if the market value doubled, you could say that we hadn't done a damn thing. Therefore, the book value is the only one you can use."

Guy Thompson, SAC co-coordinator, defended SAC's use of market value, saying "We think using book value distorts the figures as it doesn't reflect the

long term rise in stock prices. Some of McGill's holdings are very old, and their book value is absurdly low, while the new stocks have values that are disproportionately high. Obviously that discrepancy is going to make the university's figures at least equally inaccurate."

According to Miller, "The 20 per cent divestiture is commendable, but the system McGill has

employed to divest should be modified."

This Monday, the McGill Board of Governors meets to review divestment. Said Conway, "I'm hoping there will be no problem at all."

SAC is organizing a demonstration for 14h30 outside the F. Cyril James Building for students to show they still support divestment.

...the vital distinction

continued from page 7

basis of regional need. Only a few hundred places are not assigned to specific regions. This is to allow for emergency situations.

Though public concern, in the form of private sponsorship, has helped push the government to increase the numbers it lets in, Gagnon says public misconceptions about certain refugee situations can often have the opposite effect.

Of the recent arrival of over 100 Tamil refugees, Gagnon said that "Public reaction created a real backlash of misinformation and prejudice. A lack of info makes people think there is a 'flood' of refugees and that a lack of rules allows them to enter into Canada unhindered," she said.

Denis Rasico, a Montréal lawyer who works with the S.O.S. Refugee group, said that a well-informed public can be more sensitive, and is more willing to help refugees when it understands the situation from which they come. Within 15 days of the Tamils' arrival, said Rasico, S.O.S. organized a vigil, and circulated a petition which received over 15,000 signatures from the public.

"This is a more significant representation of public reaction than the press had reported up until that time," said Rasico.

Gagnon said that the reception of the large number of S.E. Asian refugees entering Canada during the 'Boat People' crisis several years ago, "overwhelmed the government."

She also mentioned a group of people who, last year, broke the law by hiding a Guatemalan refugee in a South Shore church, so he would not have to be return to the political repression in his own country.

"They felt that it was more important to protect his life than to respect Canadian law.

"It's a kind of Civil Disobedience," she said, adding, "This is public support when people are properly informed about the refugee problem.

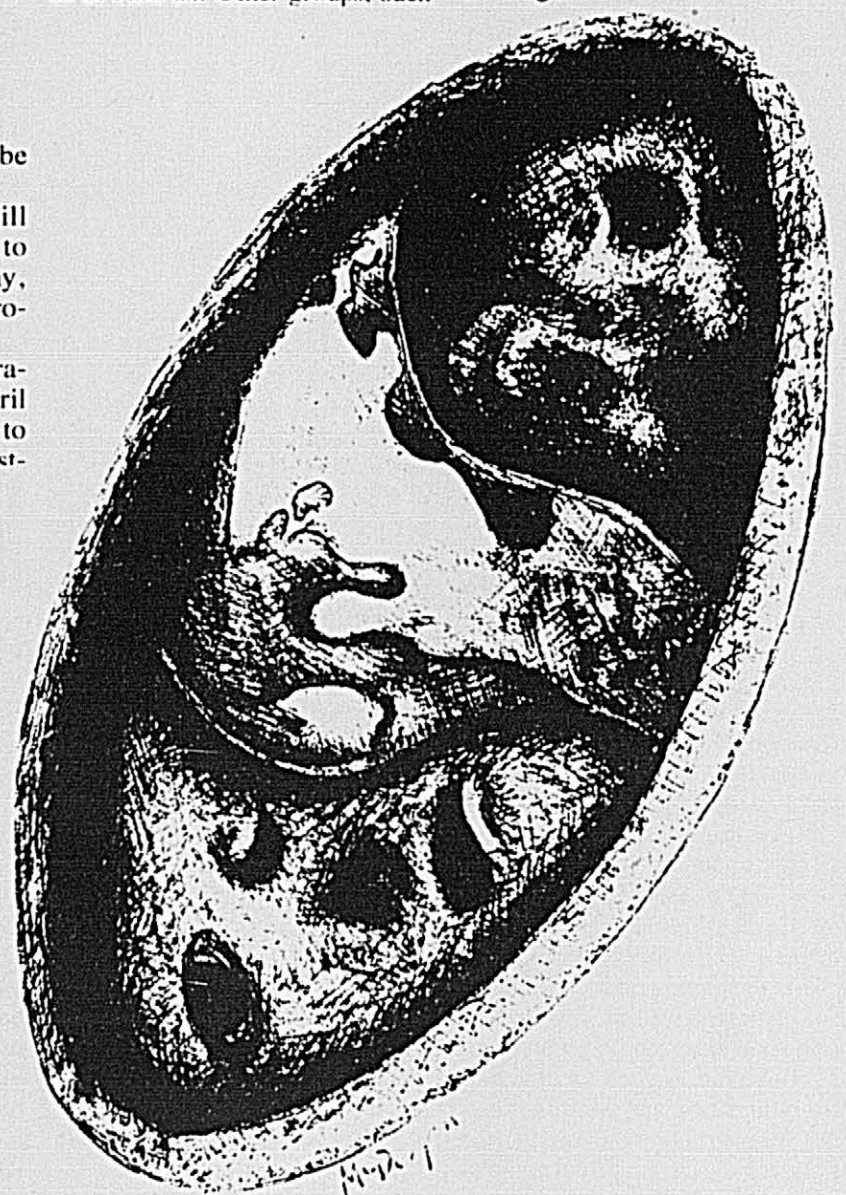
According to Gagnon, Canada is ranked 14th amongst countries which accept refugees. And, as Canada has a direct role in maintaining refugee situations worldwide by funding countries with human rights violations, Gagnon said, it faces a contradiction between its policy towards refugees and aid to the countries from which many of them come.

"To be coherent, if Canada wants a fair and equitable policy towards refugees, it should establish fair practices here, and reflect this in its foreign policy to countries with human rights violations.

"The Geneva Convention is

not precise. It establishes minimum requirements for refugees' rights, but leaves a lot of room and latitude for countries to establish their own rules.

"There are no sanctions if you don't respect the rule or the spirit of the Geneva agreement," she concluded.



...Zambia

continued from page 9

the strain of their relocation.

For their part, host countries have paid a price for protecting those fleeing South Africa's terror. Zambia is no exception. On May 19, 1986, the SADF bombed the Makeni Transit Centre in Zambia. A Namibian refugee was killed and several other refugees, as well as Zambian nationals, were injured.

In August, Jonas Savimbi of UNITA threatened military strikes at Zambia. He said that Zambia had given permission for its territory to be used for attacks against UNITA.

Despite the threats and the Makeni strike, Zambians seem to have resolved

themselves to playing a support role for those fleeing the Pretoria-induced crisis of what has become the 'second mfecane' for Southern Africa.

physical location. Eight countries line its borders. As well, Zambia is more physically removed from South Africa than are Botswana and Zimbabwe.

MacDonald draws attention to some non-material components to the answer. Kenneth Kaunda, the president of Zambia, has garnered a reputation as a humanitarian. The Zambian government has always been respectful of the U.N. conventions on refugees of which there are 100 signatories around the world.

Most importantly, the Zambians have welcomed most of the refugees during these difficult times; locals have eased

Life in an Indonesian refugee camp

by Patrice Brodeur

Galang Refugee Processing Center, the only refugee camp in Indonesia, is on an island some 50 miles south of Singapore. Because the camp is surrounded with tropical forests or water, much of the life there is limited to the camp grounds.

The mostly Vietnamese or Cambodian refugees are transferred from a place called KuKu, in the northern part of Indonesia, close to where they land from the sea.

When Rob McCue arrived in October 1984, there were some 10,000 refugees, of which about a fifth were Cambodian and the rest Vietnamese. When he left just five months ago, the camp had shrunk to 6000, almost all Vietnamese.

McCue worked for 19 months in Galang. One of his most remarkable contributions was a special program set up at night for those people who had been in the camp for more than two years.

Khoa is a refugee from Galang who has been in Montréal only for a month. He was finally reunited with his mother and brother here after being separated from them for almost three years.

Galang refugee camp is divided into two sites. In one, up to 60 newly-arrived refugees spend their first six months in barracks about 80-feet long. In another, four to five people share a room about 12 by 10 feet.

The food is distributed in five-unit portions, often to people who do not live in the same compound. The menu is monotonous: rice, instant noodle, six eggs lasting each person about 10 days, dried fish once a rare month, and vegetables, if they are available and not rotten.

Nevertheless, according to standards set by the United Nations Commission for Refugees, the Galang Processing Center remains a well-organized camp.

For the camp residents, months and years of waiting can lead to despair and a crippling boredom. Though there is not a lot of activity, both Khoa and McCue stress the eagerness with which the refugees learn English, and the energy they devote to teaching themselves in other subjects.

"The library is full every night," said McCue. Khoa assures me that most of the refugees follow language courses during the morning, if not in the afternoon.

Nevertheless, the months, sometimes years spent in the camps can be agonizing if the refugees do not find additional activities to fill their time. The lucky ones who receive money from relatives already resettled may sometimes open small businesses in the camp for food or other basic needs. These may in turn hire a few young people who will then earn a small amount of money. But for the vast majority, volunteer work remains the basic occupation, and there is a strong

spirit of sharing and cooperation.

As soon as a refugee arrives, s(he) starts one of the four levels of English. Once s(he) has completed the program, s(he) becomes a teacher. This process can take a long time especially when "most of the refugees of the most recent years have come from the rural areas of Vietnam and have very little education," says Khoa.

There were also 18 Indonesians in this program, who in addition to 250 Vietnamese, were employed full-time teaching English as a Second Language.

Another important program was the vocational training given by the World Relief organization.

Multiple rejections of refugees' applications by different national delegations, is a major source of depression for the refugees. "They lose faith in themselves and begin to feel sad and inadequate...They think that they do not have any possibility to improve their own chances for resettlement," said McCue.

This is why the special program was set up: to help these long-term refugees learn English at their own speed, in smaller classes (maximum 15 per class with two teachers, while the normal day classes are 40-50 students per teacher). There could only be a maximum of 350 at any one time.

Fortunately, the program became so successful that many long-term refugees were able to be resettled. This in turn allowed the initial two years minimum to be lowered to 16 months.

This is a very positive sign in that it indicates that the average time that refugees stay in the center before being resettled is being reduced.

Khoa, who remained in the refugee camp after McCue's departure, says that "it is not so good after he left. If volunteers from Canada can help, it is better for the refugees," and enhances their possibilities of being resettled he said.

The resettlement process can be withdrawn, confusing and full of complications. When a refugee first arrives at the camp, s(he) is interviewed by UNHCR officers to determine if s(he) has any relatives in a third country. If there is such a relative, then the refugee is interviewed by the immigration delegation in that particular country. The case remains open, pending a decision by officials within the relative's country before being taken to another delegation.

Khoa's is an example of a protracted case. If one has no relatives, then the Joint Voluntary Agency decides if the refugee is eligible for acceptance into the U.S. These criteria list requirements such as having a relative in the U.S., or proof of

refugee acceptance, however, vary from country to country. Australia has both a quota system and a sponsoring program for allowing refugees in the country. Unlike Canada, which also offers these two channels, private or non-governmental sponsoring groups in Australia are not required to be financially liable for a refugee.

This makes relatives who do not have the means to sponsor a relative, eligible for government support in helping them become reunited with their families.

This is not the case in Canada. Khoa was first accepted by the immigration authorities within the first quota system, since it was thought that he had no relative in Canada. When Canadian authorities realized his mother and brother had just arrived in Canada, via another private sponsorship (of which Khoa was not aware), he was told he had to wait for sponsorship through a non-governmental group.

Like many other refugees, Khoa was caught in a paradoxical situation. His case was pending Canadian approval, but depended on generous, private Canadian citizens with whom he had no contact.

Fortunately, through McCue's help, such a group was formed, allowing Khoa to finally be reunited with his mother and brother.



of the system, as was the case with Khoa.

Private sponsorship remains remarkably easy in Canada. Any five people with \$1,000 each, can open a bank account and sponsor a refugee. The benefits for Canadians are invaluable; refugees expand our world by bringing us their experiences.

Is the Galang Processing Center only a necessary but temporary stop? If the camp were closed one day, we would certainly celebrate the new start for 6,000 people who had to flee their homes.

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However, if the refugee who meets the second criteria already has a close relative in a third country other than the US, then her/his case is reverted to a delegation within that country. Until an answer is given by that delegation, the refugee cannot be considered for the US, though s(he) may meet the other criteria for acceptance.

Most of the refugees want to go to the U.S., where the majority of them are resettled. Policies for refugee acceptance, however, vary from country to country. Australia has both a quota system and a sponsoring program for allowing refugees in the country. Unlike Canada, which also offers these two channels, private or non-governmental sponsoring groups in Australia are not required to be financially liable for a refugee.

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Such cases are not uncommon, though Canadian immigration policies are considered to be more flexible than those in other countries.

"In the eyes of the Vietnamese," said McCue, "the Canadian immigration delegation has an extremely good reputation for their fairness." But since they come only once every six to eight weeks for visits of about three days each, few refugees have the opportunity to make it into Canada.

Patience is a precious quality for the refugees in the Galang Processing Center. For most of them, males between the age of 18 and 29, the waiting becomes a battle against despair and resignation. Some cope successfully, others not, especially when they happen to fall in one of the cracks

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352 — HELP WANTED

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Tutor available: experienced. Chem., Physics, Bio., Math, etc... Reasonable, negotiable rates. Steven: 286-1049. Don't wait 'till it's too late!

Experienced dentist requires a patient for Canadian accreditation exam. If you have some minor cavities, I would correct them FREE OF CHARGE during this exam on Dec. 18, 19, 20. Call 683-2759.

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Willing males and females needed for student haircuts. Supervised by professionals. Wednesdays 6 pm — \$8. Call for appointments, 849-9231. Estetica 2175 Crescent.

Presbyterian / United Church Chaplaincy has an open-door policy. Rev. Chris Ferguson and Glynis Williams are available for conversation and consultation. 3484 Peel Street (Newman Centre). Tel.: 392-5890.

Drugs may provide excitement... while ruining your health. Let us show you more constructive ways of having fun, and getting naturally high! Rick Blatter, Health & Fitness Consultant.

Blatter, Rick, Health & Fitness Consultant. Personalized consultations in your own home or office. For your appointment call Saturday mornings between 05h30 and 13h30, 625-1352.

361 — ARTICLES FOR SALE

Electric stove: good condition, \$110 (o.b.o.) Call 526-8752 evenings (Brendan) or 392-8959 between 12 and 7 p.m., Tues.-Fri. (Colin)

Red and White jackets. Leather sleeves, wool body, thermal lining, chenille lettering & embroidered crest. \$119. Warmest in Montréal. In stock for immediate delivery. Call 849-0077.

White goose down jackets, \$99, \$135 - be warm with light weight, cosy white goose down at the best place in town. EXXA - 550 President Kennedy.

Abonnements à la presse, prix spéciaux pour étudiants. De 9h00 à 17h00 au Daily, local B-03, Union Building.

Yamaha A-500 stereo amplifier - 75 watts/channel, 2 yrs. old and in perfect condition. Asking price: \$250 (or best offer). Call Scoot at 483-5617.

Down coats - long - white goose down. Men from \$175, women from \$130, jackets from \$99. Best buy in town. EXXA - 550 President Kennedy.

1500 Civil Engineering books for sale. (1930-1965). In good condition. "Personal Library." Great bargains. Call 353-4875.

Canadian Army combat arctic parka - hood, long, removable lining - grenade pockets, super warm. EXXA Military Surplus - 550 President Kennedy.

For sale: double bed, good condition \$50. Pair of Italian leather boots, womens size 6 1/2, excellent condition \$75. Call 935-6283 between 9-10 pm.

Cowhide airforce jackets - black, brown, exact EXXA copies of top gun jackets, heavy brass fixtures only \$225. EXXA - 550 President Kennedy.

Boston! Round-trip ticket (incl. ride to and from Dorval) only \$150. Depart Thurs. 23 Oct., A.M. and return Sun. 26 Oct., P.M. Call 731-0123. Price neg.

Fostex 260 recorder / mixer, 6 months old, 6 months guarantee. \$975. Chris: 722-2054.

Electric stove, 30 inches, white, about 12 years old. In very good condition. Call François at 272-9505.

367 — CARS FOR SALE

You will freeze waiting for the bus this winter! 1978 Honda Accord for sale. New everything (gas shocks, engine, transmission, radials...) call 937-5575 or 631-0839.

1981 Granada 6 cylinders, 4-door, 70,000 km. One owner - \$2,700 (a steal), excellent condition. 281-3092.

370 — RIDES

Save \$300! One way ticket for female (plus infant in nec.) to U.K. October 29 \$350 o.b.o. Call 473-8566.

372 — LOST & FOUND

REWARD - Lost Tuesday or Wednesday, Oct. 7 or 8, a sterling silver wrist chain about 8 inch wide. Very sentimental. Dave: 672-5366.

374 — PERSONAL

Go ahead... make my day!! Give Nightline a call for information. 392-8234. New hours: 6 p.m. to 3 a.m. seven days a week.

Obsessed with food and weight? "Compulsive eating and body image:" series of workshops for females. Contact: Counselling Service, rm. 301, Powell Bldg. 392-5119.

383 — LESSONS OFFERED

Guitar lessons. Classical, jazz, folk, rock. All ages, all levels. Highly qualified, experienced teacher. Ross MacIver 481-4952.

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Flute and recorder lessons' cours de flûte traversière et de flûte à bec. For beginners or advanced. Call 388-5164.

385 — NOTICES

Confrontation "Canadiens-Nordiques" in Québec City on November 25. Price: \$39 (hockey ticket, 2 way bus ticket and probably beer). Reservations - Michel Paquette 661-4584 before October 24.

389 — MUSICIANS WANTED

Drummer wanted: Good attitude, good chops. Call for info: Ken 288-3036, or Fraser 286-9328.

ATTENTION ARTISTS!

The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM) is searching for a new logo design. The logo will identify the School Board on its publications and stationery.

PSBGM students and former PSBGM graduates are invited to submit their logo designs no later than Friday, November 21 at 4 p.m.

The creator of the winning design will be awarded a prize of \$400. Two \$100 awards for honourable mention will also be offered.

For full details, phone PSBGM Communications Services at: 483-7245

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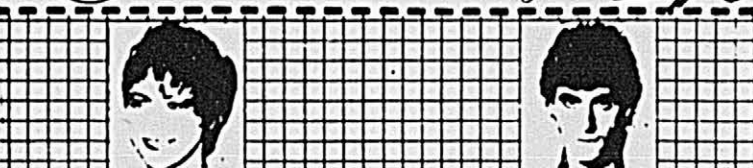
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(RAEU) - representing Université de Montréal, Laval, Polytechnique, Abitibi, Temiscamingue and McGill's Macdonald College!

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says "Vote Yes"
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